/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wân (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[57] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabīh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Ṭazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

/116 cont./
000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[69] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}ar, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counter-part of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A [634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^{c} girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hesitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyân from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouîa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced [571] political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^{c}qil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were [171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

174 221 233 171 /118 cont./ the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

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634 /118 cont./ or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for example.

It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

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2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

121 619 634 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 619 133 [571] [137] Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their livestock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation. Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 648 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

191 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
619 among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
191 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/267 cont./
762 as far as suicide (1).
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1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

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Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

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1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manāqib al-H'ud'aykī, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/270 cont./

776 794 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ṣṣadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a sysitia, as was said in classical Antiquity. [571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 776 794 782 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he escaped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 798 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 • 571 [602] This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
602 the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
171 him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," $ag^{w}mmam$. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the $ag^{w}mmam$, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

/332 cont./

695 571 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ [195] An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 695 613 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait differently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described, but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

[674] Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of cosweaters; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to [184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

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/394 cont./ foundation. The result is this judiciary tension in which the person has his place, which defines him. This stage is not that of the old group solidarities. Nevertheless it stems from it. In certain respects, it expresses it, in rejuvenating it. Proceedings here have, even more than a role of extinguishing trouble, a role of maintainer of the trouble. Its essential function is to reveal and to keep watch of the individual and collective lives. This is the very function of the rite in other societies. This one, harsh, rational, polemical, has a more juridical than religious bent. It finds its privileged moments in judicial tension rather than in religion. It is a society -- own genius or historical factors -- at the stage of dialectic and moral indignation.

This moral coloration is very important. It produces antagonisms in a very much constructed communal milieu. It also produces the heated asides of individual resentment.

Partisanship, vengeance, what people will say become the motive forces of an existence that perpetually oscillates between the two faces of the oppression: submit or make submit. There is scarcely any intermediary plane. That certainly not from the lack of a sense of imminent justice, but from a keen appetite for reparation. An /395/ unfathomable heredity imposes in all its rigor the persecutor-persecuted alternation, revealing the hazards of a milieu nevertheless profoundly egalitarian.

The enormity of the legacy of oppression governs the reactions of the passions to the extent that any success obtained in the revendication appears out of proportion with the immense failure of the past. Sterile tumults, repression in an economy where the forces of the man are untiringly wasted impose a heavy heritage of vengeance.

Whence it comes that, over against modern law, where the matter judged guarantees social stability, it would be to the protection of an indefinite possibility of instance, of a perpetual deferment of trial, that the Seksawa aspire. That is related not only to the structure of such a milieu, but also to an unconscious calculation of the probabilities. The civil life being defined for each one by insertion into the inextricable web of the disputes and

/395 cont./

competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good objective law could have made victory anticipated before a jurisdiction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it: heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/425 cont./
616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3),

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its
[695] field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

616 571 184

/430 cont./

616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

/187 cont./

*634 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the
616 time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113]

1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacifica-
629 tion. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assist-
616 ance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations
•571 whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics.
[574] The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 616 .57 [574] shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ʿar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

[754]

*634 616 726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 616 726 .571 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^{c}" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 616 182 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 616 726 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
* 634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
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[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
• 571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
* 634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

• 571 *634 613 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Berber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616] 1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 *634 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of [171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose [616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," [578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/196 cont./

• 571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
* 634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

554 /224 cont./
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[692] /footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585] [586] [428] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He conducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes according to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

[681]

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to deliberate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar" /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

[292] [613] [571] [754] [574] [431] [628] [574]

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As a result of the general tendency toward the development of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

[178]

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*634 578 726 628 [571] most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults, then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war. But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples [571] [782] of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "ᶜar" /putting them in the relationship of protector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

*634 578 571 726 628 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle imperils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 578 726 628 [171] In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2), the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
•571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
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/235 cont./

796 53 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 •571 796 182 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 796 571 616 182 619 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike festivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" figure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ʿAziza of the Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ʿAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/246 cont./
609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
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1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the
[619] exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he
*634 has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin, to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
• [571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/249 cont./

423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
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2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.
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Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jema^{c}a" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

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[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 571 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

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343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside. The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
[578] exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meetings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circumstances, and their discords should not become manifest to the common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in them by the people for the administration of their property." As for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indispensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the material life of the users depends each day on the administration of the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, almost unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circumstances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a decision by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

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343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, [434] [681] [652] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

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121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his attention
*634 often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure cantons, to observe
[669] their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
•[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Aït Arba'in" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
• 57 augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

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*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
•571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
C ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organization and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen /makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton republican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states, the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
518 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

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000 the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

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Chapter II
The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

*634 616 554 571 The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

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*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
•571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "Aït Iraten" in order to conquer the "Aït Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Aït Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Aït Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

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great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is, moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away into paradise.

[681] Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

• [571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

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Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive. It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
* [634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

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If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost, one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

*631 At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*634 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
571 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
[178] the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of the "Aît Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
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*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aît Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
559 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

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*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
• [571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
159 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
*631 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
•571 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
574 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
431 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

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121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
•571 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the boundaries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
598 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

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105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

105 This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
182 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in progressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*631 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
616 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of immense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
•591 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
•571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lodging either at the village mosque or at private homes. Generally speaking, every guest in Morocco is considered to be in the *'ar* of his host (Berque, 1955, p. 460; Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 357-362; Marcy, 1929, pp. 140-141; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 535-539).

609 754 574 171

TABLE V

Alliance Systems or Relationships Established by Shame Compulsion or Covenant (*See Text for Sources*)

571 • 609 574 754 171 192

Relationship	Group				
	Arabic-Speakers	Shluh	Beraber	Jebala-Riffian	Zenata
Alliance for Safe Passage	*mezrag*	*tazettat*	*amur tazettat*	[1]	*tazettat*
Alliance for Securing a Patron for Aid and Protection	*zettata*	(*tigarsi-?*)	*tazettat*	(*leff-?*)	*amur*
Brotherhood Between Persons and Families		*ameqqon*	*tagmat*		*talmat*
Brotherhood Between Extended Groups		*ameqqon* (*tada*)	*tada*		*tada*
Brotherhood Between Politically Autonomous Groups for Purposes of Defense	*leff*	*ameqqon*	*tafergant*	*leff*	*leff*

[1] Relationship structure present but name not given.

Shame compulsion may also be employed by an individual, or a group of individuals, to gain refuge and protection, aid, mediation, or pardon through the help of a patron or mediator, as well as to prevent blood-feud or force the acceptance of blood-money. These diverse applications all fall within the scope of that alliance system known by the Arabic-speakers as *zettata*, by the Beraber as *tazettat*, and by the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata as *amur* (see Table V). Through it, an individual fleeing from enemies or from

571 754

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 754 punishment could place himself in the protection of a prominent person by entering his tent or grasping the tent-pole at the entrance and exclaiming, "I am in God's *'ar* and your *'ar*," or, "I am seeking refuge with your children." The owner of the tent is then obliged to assist him, at least by acting as an intermediary between him and his pursuer, or by speaking to the *caid* or governor on his behalf. The pursuer, in such a case, cannot try forcible to remove the fugitive, but must apply to the owner. A similar custom prevails among the sedentary populations residing in houses. A fugitive could also place himself in the *'ar* of a woman by touching her, sucking her breast, sitting down in front of her, or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill; her husband and family then being obliged to help him. He could also place himself under the protection or *'ar* of an entire village to which he has fled by crying, "I am seeking refuge with God and You, O Community", or by seeking refuge in the village mosque. Mosques generally, however, are not as safe as saints' shrines, for an individual seeking refuge in a shrine came under the *'ar* of the saint. In the Arabic-speaking area a fugitive frequently used *'ar* to obtain a pardon from the authorities.

571 754 695 This alliance mechanism could, however, be used not only by the defendant in a civil or criminal case, but also by the plaintiff. Persons who had suffered damage or injury, or had had a relative murdered, and were unable to protect themselves or obtain vengeance, secured aid by casting *'ar* upon other individuals or upon various social groups. This could be done by hanging an earthenware pot around the neck and entering another person's tent or house; by turning the handmill in this person's tent or house; by placing a saddle upside-down at his door or sacrificing an animal there; or, in the case of women, by cutting the hair, blackening the face, covering oneself with rags and cow-dung, and passing from village to village asking for aid – the latter being a particularly powerful form of casting *'ar* which cannot be refused. Among the Beraber a person may cast an extremely compulsory kind of *'ar* by taking his little son or daughter to the house of the leading man of a village, or to the mosque, laying the child across the door, holding a knife over the artery of the neck, and threatening to kill it if the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

help asked for is refused. An individual may also take an unmarried daughter into another man's house and invoke his assistance, saying that this is *'ar* upon him. The girl is then left there until the owner of the house and his friends have satisfied the request (Bruno and Bousquet, 1942, pp. 361-362; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-530, 560-561).

The use of *'ar*, however, is not restricted to persons engaged in civil or criminal cases, but may also be employed by public bodies, or their representatives against such individuals. This is illustrated by usage among the Ait Youssi (234-236), Westermarck reporting that in the event that a murderer and his male relatives in the patrilineal line have fled, unrelated elders in the village attempt to postpone the blood-feud by casting *'ar* upon the victim's family – either by sacrificing a sheep at the grave, or descending into the open grave itself while scribes give recitations on the behalf of the still unburied deceased. Through this, and the intervention of still other people, the relatives of the deceased eventually agree upon a period of truce; before the expiration of this truce the homicide or his relatives have a *sherif* or other influential men again cast *'ar* upon the family until such a time as they are willing to accept blood-money. *'Ar* may also be cast by the inhabitants of a defeated village upon the members of the victorious group for the purpose of ending the conflict – individuals of a third village or holy men acting as the mediators (Coon, 1931, pp. 105, 162-163; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 530-532).

An outstanding example of the use of shame compulsion to secure protection is provided by the *ksour* inhabitants of the south, these placing themselves under the protection of a neighboring nomadic tribe by the ceremony known in Arabic as *debiha* and in Tashilhait as *tigarsi*. Another example would be the practice on the part of Jews in Berber areas of using *'ar* to secure a Moslem protector or patron (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 37).

The third type of alliance – known among the Shluh by the term *ameqqon* ("relationship, alliance"), among the Beraber as *tagmat* ("brotherhood"), and among the Zenata as *taimat* ("brotherhood") is concluded between single individuals or families who desire to establish a mutually profitable relationship legally equivalent to that

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

571 563 which would exist if they were collateral kinsmen. Such a relationship, established by a covenant, may have a military purpose, a number of families within a village forming alliances for mutual defense or to increase their strength for purposes of vengeance. If [621] such a military alliance is formed in response to an act perpetrated within the village, it is usually countered by a second, so that the entire village becomes divided into two rival divisions, known as *sof* in Arabic and as *ameqqon* in Tashilhait. Such a polarization of the village is not an inevitable consequence of the use of the alliance mechanism, however, for the alliance may also have as its purpose such peaceful goals as the sharing of irrigated farmland or pasture-land (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 364-365; Marcy, 1929, p. 141; Montagne, 1931, p. 196; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-565).

The concept of the alliance of individuals and families through a bond of brotherhood is extended further to the concept of the alliance by brotherhood of larger groups. Two general cases occur; 628 571 *tada* alliances and *leff* alliances. Of these, *tada* alliances are the least inclusive, generally being established by covenant between two divisions or even two tribes already linked by some form of ethnic 628 tie. Although *tada* alliances are not unknown among the Shluh (see 571 for example, Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 526), they are most 171 frequent among the transhumants, here having vitally important economic functions. As with the *taimat*, or *tagmat*, the symbolism of the *tada* alliance emphasizes the establishment of ties of brotherhood between the two groups; this is clearly expressed among the Beni Ouarain (241-267), where the two groups exchange containers of milk, the contents of which are then poured on the ground between to symbolize the nourishment of both groups by the milk of a common mother, such symbolism is also occasionally resorted to in the casting of *'ar* on the *amur* type alliance (type 2, Table V), when a fugitive touches a woman, pretends to suck her breast, sits down in front of her, or turns her handmill – for he thus becomes, as it were, her son. Among the Ait Atta (465-491) this symbolic act is reserved for the ceremony of *afergant*, a *tada* alliance being established instead by a ceremony of covenanting involving the exchange of slippers or cloaks (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 365-368; Deverdun, 1942, p. 314. Marcy, 1929, p. 142; Spillmann,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasture-lands – a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368). 571 171

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they characteristically involve the alignment of politically independent districts or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. *lfuf*) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as *tafergant* in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-* 571 628 616 634 635 [171]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

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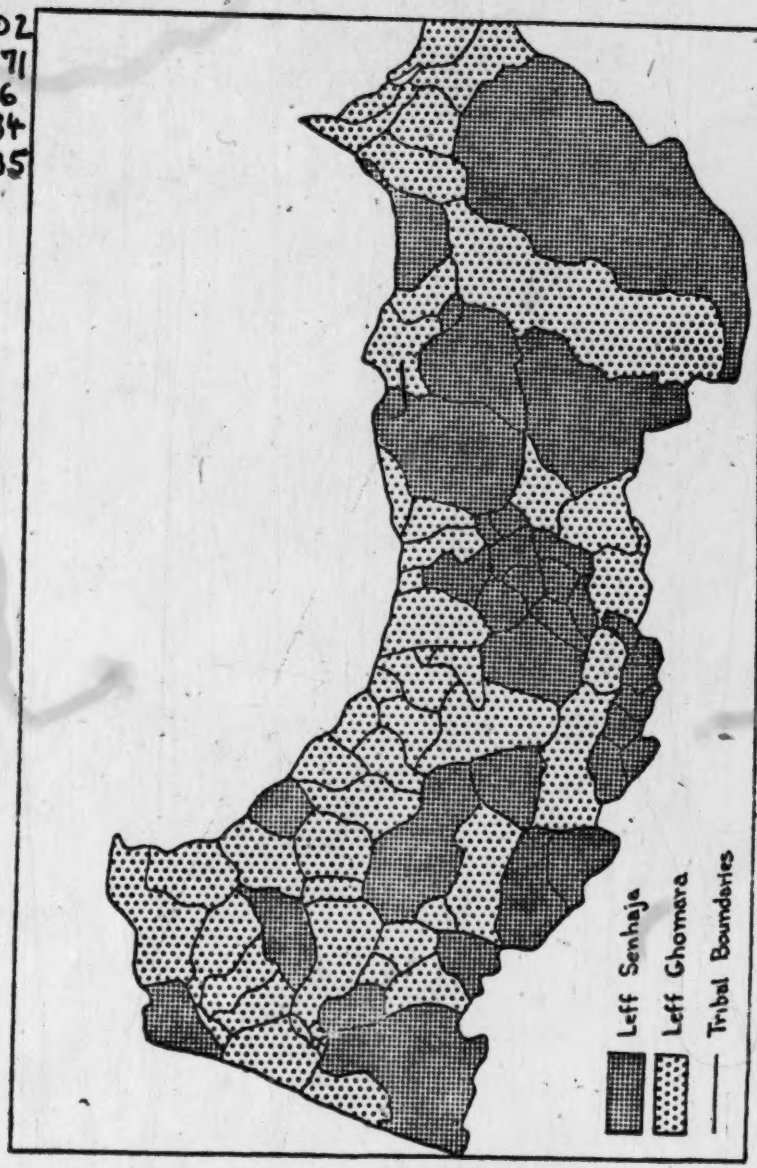

Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for a critique of the *leff* theory).

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51).

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203).

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and